1989 signifies the collapse of Soviet communism and the end of the Cold War, a moment generally recognised as a triumph for liberal democracy and when capitalism became global. *The Global 1989* challenges these ideas. An international group of prominent scholars investigate the mixed, paradoxical and even contradictory outcomes engendered by these events, unravelling the intricacies of this important moment in world history. Although the political, economic and cultural orders generated have, for the most part, been an improvement on what was in place before, this has not always been clear-cut: 1989 has many meanings, many effects and multiple trajectories. This volume leads the way in defining how 1989 can be assessed both in terms of its world historical impact and in terms of its contribution to the shape of contemporary world politics.

**George Lawson** is Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

**Chris Armbruster** is the founder and Executive Director of the Research Network 1989. He also tracks the evolution of digital scholarly communication for the Max Planck Society at the Max Planck Digital Library.

**Michael Cox** is Chair in International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Co-Director of ‘Ideas’, a centre for diplomacy and strategy at the LSE.
The Global 1989

Continuity and Change in World Politics

Edited by

George Lawson
London School of Economics

Chris Armbruster
Max Planck Society

Michael Cox
London School of Economics
For Fred Halliday (1946–2010)
Inspirational friend; debunker of myths
Contents

List of figures \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} page ix
List of tables \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} x
Notes on contributors \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} xi
Acknowledgements \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} xv
List of abbreviations \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} xvii

Introduction: the ‘what’, ‘when’ and ‘where’ of the global 1989
GEORGE LAWSON

Part I What and when

1 Back to the future of nineteenth-century Western international thought?
JOHN M. HOBSON

2 The return of primitive accumulation
SASKIA SASSEN

3 What is left after 1989?
WILLIAM OUTHWAITE

Part II Where

4 Transatlantic relations in the shadow of the Cold War
MICHAEL COX

5 Third World socialism: 1989 and after
FRED HALLIDAY

6 Towards a global Europe?
LAURE DELCOUR
## Contents

7 Restoration and convergence: Russia and China since 1989  
   AVIEZER TUCKER  
   157

8 One world, many cold wars: 1989 in the Middle East  
   RICHARD SAULL  
   179

### Part III  Continuity and change  

9 One bright moment in an age of war, genocide and terror? On the revolutions of 1989  
   CHRIS ARMBRUSTER  
   201

10 A dangerous utopia: the military revolution from the Cold War to the war on terror  
   MARC DEVORE  
   219

11 From Berlin to Baghdad: learning the ‘wrong’ lessons from the collapse of communism  
   BARBARA J. FALK  
   243

Conclusion: was there a global 1989?  
   ARNE WESTAD  
   271

Bibliography  
   282

Index  
   308
Figures

1.1 Post-1989 ‘international thought’ as promoter and defender of Western civilisation

2.1 US income share of the top 10 per cent of earners, 1917–2005

2.2 Ratio of residential mortgage debt to GDP, select countries, end 2006

2.3 Ratio of residential mortgage debt to GDP: emerging Asia, 2007
## Tables

1.1 Variants of Eurocentrism  
2.1 Countries with highest remittance inflows as share of GDP, 2002–5 (US$ million)  
2.2 Top 20 remittance-recipient countries, 2004 (US$ billions)  
2.3 Rate of subprime lending (%) by borough, 2002–6  
2.4 Ten New York City community districts with the highest rates of subprime lending, 2006  
2.5 Rate of conventional subprime lending (%) by race in New York City, 2002–6  
2.6 Ratio of household credit to personal disposable income (%), 2006  
7.1 Totalitarian and authoritarian legacies  
10.1 Reagan’s ‘revolutionary’ technologies  
10.2 PGMs and military campaigns  
10.3 Conflicting procurement priorities
Contributors

CHRIS ARMBRUSTER was born in the American sector of Berlin. He is the Executive Director of Research Network 1989 – a global network dedicated to exploring the causes and consequences of 1989. In the process of researching the history of the Soviet empire and the revolutions of 1989, Chris spent time at UJ Kraków, ELTE Budapest, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Novosibirsk State University and the EUI (Florence). Chris also works for the Max Planck Society, exploring changes in scholarly communication, research evaluation and scientific publishing.

MICHAEL COX is Professor of International Relations at LSE and Co-Director of IDEAS – LSE’s Centre for the study of Strategy and Diplomacy. He previously taught at Queen’s University, Belfast and The Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth. Professor Cox is the author, editor and co-editor of several books including: Superpowers at the Crossroads (1990); US Foreign Policy After the Cold War (1995); Rethinking the Soviet Collapse (1998); The Eighty Years Crisis (1998); The Interregnum: World Politics, 1989–1999 (1999); American Democracy Promotion (2000); E. H. Carr: A Critical Appraisal (2000); The Twenty Years Crisis (2001); Empires, Systems and States (2002); How Might We Live? (2002); and an eight-volume work – The International Relations of the Twentieth Century (2007). He is currently collecting his most significant writings into two compendiums: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire and The United States and World Order.

LAURE DELCOUR is Senior Fellow in charge of European Neighbourhood Policy, Russia and NIS countries at the Institute of International and Strategic Relations in Paris, and a member of the Centre of European Studies of the French School of Administration (ENA). A political scientist and historian by training, she wrote her doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Political Studies (Sciences-Po) on the European Union’s policy in Russia (2000). She has written
and taught extensively on EU policies, including enlargement, the European Neighbourhood Policy and EU–Russia relations. Dr Delcour has recently published Pioneer Europe? Testing European Foreign Policy in the Neighbourhood (with Elsa Tulmets, 2008).

MARC DEVORE received his doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is now a post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Security Economics and Technology at the University of St Gallen. His first major study – ‘Armed Forces, States and Threats: Civil–Military Institutions and Military Power in Modern Democracies’ – explores the impact of civil–military relations on the production of military power in modern democracies. Dr DeVore has been the recipient of a number of prestigious awards including Fulbright and Truman Scholarships, and fellowships from MIT, Harvard, Columbia and the French government. In 2002–3, Dr DeVore served as the National Security Advisor of the Central African Republic.

BARBARA J. FALK is Associate Professor of the Canadian Forces College and Royal Military College of Canada, and teaches at the Munk Centre for Global Studies of the University of Toronto. Her first book, The Dilemmas of Dissidence: Citizen Intellectuals and Philosopher-Kings (2003), examines the role of non-violent dissent in the fall of communism. She is currently writing a book comparing Cold War political trials across the East–West divide.

FRED HALLIDAY was, until his death in April 2010, ICREA research professor at IBEI, the Barcelona Institute for International Studies. From 1985 to 2008 he was Professor of International Relations at LSE. His books include: The Making of the Second Cold War (1983); Revolution and World Politics (1999); Two Hours That Shook the World (2001); The Middle East in International Relations (Cambridge University Press, 2005); and 100 Myths About the Middle East (2001).

JOHN M. HOBBON is Professor of Politics and International Relations at the University of Sheffield. His main research interest lies in the critique of Eurocentrism and the reconstruction of a non-Eurocentric historical-sociological account of globalisation and inter-civilisational relations, past and present. His two most recent books are The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation (Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Everyday Politics of the World Economy (Cambridge University Press, 2007) (co-edited with Leonard Seabrooke). Professor Hobson is currently finishing two books: one on J. A. Hobson entitled The
Notes on contributors

Struggle for the International Mind (co-edited with Colin Tyler) and the other entitled The Eurocentric Origins of International Relations.

George Lawson is Lecturer in International Relations at LSE, having previously taught at Goldsmiths, University of London. He is convenor of the British International Studies Association’s working group on historical sociology and International Relations (www.historical-sociology.org) and author of Negotiated Revolutions: The Czech Republic, South Africa and Chile (2005), as well as articles in Review of International Studies, International Studies Review, International Political Sociology, Political Studies, Millennium and International Politics.

William Outhwaite studied at the Universities of Oxford and Sussex, where he taught for many years, and is now Professor of Sociology at Newcastle University. Recent publications include The Future of Society (2006), European Society (2008) and Social Theory and Postcommunism (with Larry Ray, 2005). Professor Outhwaite is currently working on social and political change in Europe since 1989, supported by a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship.

Saskia Sassen is Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. Professor Sassen’s research focuses on globalisation, immigration, global cities, and changes within the liberal state that result from current transnational conditions. In her research, she has focused on the unexpected and counterintuitive as a way to cut through established ‘truths’. Major publications include: The Mobility of Labor and Capital (Cambridge University Press, 1988); The Global City (second edition 2001); and Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages (2008).

Richard Saull is Senior Lecturer in International Politics at Queen Mary, University of London. His research focuses on the international relations of revolutions, the theorisation of the Cold War and, more recently, the nature of US power. He has written two books on the Cold War, Rethinking Theory and History in the Cold War (2001) and The Cold War and After (2007) and is currently working on an international historical sociology of the far-right.

Aviez Tucker has held research positions at the Central European University, Columbia University, New York University and the Australian National University, and has taught at Charles University, CEVRO University, Palacky University, New York University and Trinity College. He is the author of: The Philosophy and Politics of
Notes on contributors


**Arne Westad** is Professor of International History at LSE and Co-Director of LSE IDEAS. Among Professor Westad’s books are: *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Decisive Encounters* (2003); *Brothers in Arms* (1999); and *Cold War and Revolution* (1993). Professor Westad is one of the editors of the journal *Cold War History* and co-editor of the three-volume *Cambridge History of the Cold War*. 
Acknowledgements

The manuscript for this book was completed in the week often understood to mark the twentieth anniversary of the events of '1989 and all that': the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989. For the most part, the anniversary was well observed: former activists – now often politicians, academics and, on occasion, businesspeople – explained how concerted struggle from below had brought communism to its knees; many former Soviet leaders – none more so than Gorbachev himself – argued that they had played the decisive role in sowing the seeds for the communist collapse from above; while Western policy makers were not shy in reminding viewers, listeners and readers the extent to which they, and the West more generally, had created the necessary conditions for the demise of the communist system. Of course, all of these accounts contain a kernel of truth. The events of 1989 were a conjuncture of both long-term trends and short-term triggers, caused by both internal and external processes, and enabled by the agency of both state actors and civil society activists.

This book, however, does more than ask why state socialism ended in Eastern and Central Europe. Rather, it seeks to move debate on: from a focus on causes to an examination of consequences, and from a concentration on Europe to a canvass which embraces the whole world. The principal aim of this book is to ask whether it is legitimate to talk about there being a ‘global 1989’ by examining the extent to which major historical processes of capitalist expansion, state formation and development were slowed down, hurried along, or left relatively unaffected by the events of 1989. In short, we explore the world historical importance of 1989, focusing on the continuities and changes, complexities and uncertainties which have taken place in world politics over the past two decades. Along the way, the most important impacts of 1989 – favourable and unfavourable, intended and unintended – come into view.

The main message of the book is that 1989 changed many things in world politics, but not everything, not always for the better and not always in the ways – or order – in which these changes were intended.
Acknowledgements

Lurking behind this assessment is a broader message that the world is much more complex than our theories of it. And, in turn, behind this point is a sense in which dates and snapshots often serve to occlude rather than enlighten debates about world historical development. We all need shorthands – 1989 included – in order to simplify complex events and assess processes of continuity and change. But we also need to be aware of how these shorthands often mask more interesting dynamics which lie beneath the surface. Working on this project has been a reminder of the capacity of history to surprise and, more generally, of the fascination which comes from looking critically at particular historical moments. Of course, this book should not be read as any kind of final word on the subject; it does not seek a definitive reckoning of the world historical significance of 1989. All dates – and all histories – are works in motion. Rather, this book should be seen as a way-station on an altogether more winding journey, one born from the sense of exploration and engagement which lie at the heart of the intellectual imagination.

Although the final revisions to the manuscript were completed in November 2009, the origins of the book go back much further. Discussions about the project began in 2007, leading to a workshop at the London School of Economics in mid 2008 when first drafts of most of the papers which appear in this book were presented. Our thanks to Research Network 1989, LSE IDEAS and the International Relations Department at LSE for helping to organise and fund this event. Chapters were subjected to major editorial revisions before submission of the first draft of the manuscript in early 2009. Our thanks to the CUP assessors for their close reading of the text and for the robust, constructive way in which they approached assessment of it. We must also thank several people who read all, or part, of the manuscript along the way and whose comments, queries and occasional denunciations feature in its pages, most notably Toby Dodge, Paul Kirby, Ned Lebow, Luca Tardelli and the participants of a panel on ‘The Global 1989’ at the 2009 ISA convention in New York. It feels moderately unfair that the book is both substantively different and notably better because of the input of these silent partners. But we can at least acknowledge how grateful we are for the ways in which the peer review process and broader sites of scholarly exchange have resulted in a much better book than we could have produced on our own.

GEORGE LAWSON, MICHAEL COX AND CHRIS ARMBRUSTER
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACP</td>
<td>Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>Africa National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFSP</td>
<td>Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoD</td>
<td>Concert of Democracies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMECON</td>
<td>Council for Mutual Economic Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Common Operational Picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Coalition Provisional Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPSU</td>
<td>Communist Party of the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP USA</td>
<td>Communist Party of the USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSSR</td>
<td>Czechoslovak Socialist Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DARPA</td>
<td>Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPG</td>
<td>Defense Planning Guidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPRK</td>
<td>Democratic People’s Republic of Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC/EEC</td>
<td>European Community/European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELN</td>
<td>Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMU</td>
<td>Economic and Monetary Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENP</td>
<td>European Neighbourhood Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPLF</td>
<td>Eritrean People’s Liberation Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESDP</td>
<td>European Security and Defence Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>European Security Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUBAM</td>
<td>European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVP</td>
<td>Eesti Vasakpartei (Estonian Left Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

FRETILIN  Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente
           (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
FRELIMO  Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation
           Front of Mozambique)
FSLN    Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista
           National Liberation Front)
GDP     Gross Domestic Product
GDR     German Democratic Republic
GNP     Gross National Product
GPS     Global Positioning System
GWOT    Global War on Terror
HIPC    Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IAEA    International Atomic Energy Agency
IEDs    Improvised Explosive Devices
IFIs    International Financial Institutions
IMF     International Monetary Fund
INC     Iraqi National Congress
INFs    Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
JDAM    Joint Direct Attack Munition
KGB     Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (Committee
           for State Security)
MPLA    Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – Partido
           do Trabalho (Popular Movement for the Liberation of
           Angola – Party of Labour)
MRAP    Mine Resistant Ambush Protected
MTR     Military-Technical Revolution
NATO    North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP     National Defense Panel
NGO     Non-Governmental Organisation
NICs    Newly Industrialised Countries
NKVD    Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People’s
           Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
NPT     (Nuclear) Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD    Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
           Development
OSCE    Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PDPA    People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PDRY    People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen
PDS     Partito Democratico della Sinistra (Italian Democratic
           Party of the Left)
PGMs    Precision Guided Munitions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PNAC</td>
<td>Project for a New American Century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENAMO</td>
<td>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMA</td>
<td>Revolution in Military Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPGs</td>
<td>Rocket-Propelled Grenades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SED</td>
<td>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>Scottish National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (German Social Democratic Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West Africa People’s Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPLF</td>
<td>Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAVs</td>
<td>Unmanned Aerial Vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCAVs</td>
<td>Unmanned Aerial Combat Vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAAM</td>
<td>Wide Area Antiarmor Munitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of Mass Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSF</td>
<td>World Social Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>